

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## War Is Not Inevitable

### "OUR POLICY STILL HOLDS THE FIELD"

—George Lansbury

FOR the second time in six months the people of this country have been faced with the possibility of war. This time aggression by Germany is being used as an occasion for speeding up war preparations at home and seeking new allies abroad.

The crisis of last September ended with a pact which it was hoped would usher in an era of peace for Europe. The latest crisis, though it may not bring immediate war, may lead many people to believe that war must come eventually.

In the following article, Mr. George Lansbury declares that, despite recent events, he still finds it impossible to say that war is inevitable. He insists that the method of war is still incapable of bringing peace to the world, and points out that the alternative is the settlement of grievances round the conference table, with a "willingness on the part of the great imperialist possessing Powers to share resources and markets."

Mr. Lansbury urges his fellow-pacifists to continue to advocate this alternative, and asks every one of them to make up his mind where he stands on the issue of war.

#### DICTATORSHIP FOLLOWS CONSCRIPTION



EUGENE LAGOT

seen here in his cell in the political section of the Prison de la Santé, Paris, was arrested last November and sent to serve a sentence of six months' imprisonment, passed in his absence in 1935, for an article on pacifism.

On page three Reginald Reynolds shows how this is typical of the suppression that has accompanied conscription in France, where, during the past few days, a full-blooded dictatorship has come into being.

The illustrations seen on the wall are some of the greetings Lagot has received from a number of friends.

While he has been in prison he sent an appeal to the people of the world to renounce war (published in "Peace News" on February 3).

#### Only Alternative to War Method

ONCE again we are passing through a trying, difficult time, terrible crimes have been and are still being committed against Jews and Gentiles individually and nationally. It seems as if a universal spirit of evil is abroad in the world and some of us, myself included, find ourselves almost overwhelmed with fear and despair.

These things call for condemnation and bring shame to us all. I cannot, after much thought, find it possible to say war is inevitable, even though as I write I am surrounded by men who say war will be here very soon. Some ordinary words which my wife sent me years ago during a similar crisis of our faith and fortune recur again and again in my thoughts:

*Though for many a kindly impulse  
We have been beaten,  
We will not cry but still strive to do  
our duty,  
You and I.*

All we worked and toiled for is not lost, our policy of appeasement through conference and discussion of the causes of war, and a willingness on the part of the great imperialist possessing Powers to share resources and markets still holds the field.

#### What Must Be Done

No blockade, boycott or war can give mankind peace, no attempt to exact vengeance will solve any single one of the world's problems. The total destruction of Berlin, the starvation or slaughter of millions of Germans, will not give peace to the world. We know from those who speak with authority that should the catastrophe of war overtake us the end will be universal ruin.

So, my comrades, I hope you will stand together and reiterate again and again your demand, that, in spite of all difficulties, provocation and outrage a world conference shall be summoned and summoned now. There is nothing spectacular to be done,

only a keeping on of our propaganda and a constant declaration of our faith that war is a futile, stupid folly.

#### If Conscription Comes

To those of you who are pledged not to take part in any war, and, should conscription come, may possibly find yourselves before a military court, I can only ask you to think long and patiently about your attitude.

There will be no easy path of roses for you to tread. No one can bear the loneliness of the struggle but yourselves, except those who are fortunate enough to be able to find help, strength and consolation in religion.

But, even so, you, whoever you are, wherever you are, you will not really be alone, we who are old, who dare not advise or make your choice for you, will nevertheless, once your decision is made, be with you to the end, at least in the comradeship of thought.

It may be that I am expressing myself (Continued on Back Page).

P.P.U. Members and  
other Pacifists — see  
page 10



GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.,  
President of the Peace Pledge Union

#### 1,062,000 WANT WORLD CONFERENCE

THE signatures secured for the National Petition for a new Peace Conference total 1,062,000. This was announced at a rally in the Queen's Hall, London, on Saturday, reported in detail on page seven.

On Monday the Petition was laid before the Prime Minister by a deputation, which made a special reference to the crisis. Mr. Chamberlain said he agreed generally with the aims of the deputation and would watch for any opportunity of following up the line of approach they suggested. (See page twelve).

The basis for a new foreign policy, in which a world conference and disarmament were cardinal points, was outlined by Dr. C. E. M. Joad, in an interview with "Peace News." "Somebody has got to break the vicious circle of armaments, he said, "and I should propose that we should do it." The interview is reported on page seven.

## THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT : : By James Hudson



### "Appeasement" Not Quite Buried? Crisis A Consequence of Versailles, Not of Munich

**M**R. CHAMBERLAIN'S speech in Birmingham last week-end has affected the Parliamentary situation very considerably. Its political consequences are very disturbing for those who take a pacifist view of European problems.

Its aspect may be regarded as rather less black when the circumstances in which Mr. Chamberlain found himself at Birmingham are better understood. The speech was, of course, a stern rebuke for reprehensible conduct on the part of the German Government. But it was more than that.

In a Parliamentary sense, Mr. Chamberlain and his policy of appeasement suffered complete eclipse, when the news of Hitler's acts in Middle Europe came through. His men was that of a beaten man, and his followers alternated between gloom and irritation to see their chief cutting such a poor Parliamentary figure.

From the point of view of the welfare of the peoples of Europe, Mr. Chamberlain's earlier impulses toward caution might have served him better if they had persisted over the week-end. But he had a Parliamentary as well as a European situation to deal with.

So Mr. Chamberlain went to Birmingham to rehabilitate himself with his party. It was a risky thing to do, especially when it meant the apparent scrapping of a world policy pursued up to that point with so much constancy and in spite of so much obloquy. But a careful perusal of the words of the speech, assisted by what Lord Halifax has since said in the Lords, leads one to hope that the policy may not have been entirely scrapped after all.

#### Something New

IT looks, of course, as if we are going into a close alliance with France. The news pictures of the Secretary for Overseas Trade with his arm round Mr. Maisky is something new in politics. There are all sorts of vague references to a British-led block of East and South-East Europe. But it is all very problematical and speculative.

Yet bad as they are, things are not at their worst.

And as Mr. Chamberlain seems to have thoroughly succeeded in getting back into his party's good books, which is just as well if he is ever to get back to the job of appeasement, we may hope, if we are wise, that some lightening of the European situation, bad as it is, is still possible.

#### Hope for Appeasement?

IT seems to me that pacifists in particular should avoid any share in making the now much repeated statement that Mr. Chamberlain's policy of appeasement had been proved to be an utter failure.

Lord Crewe, for example, has lost all faith in that policy, if he ever had any faith in it. Speaking, as Leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords, he asserted that no conversations should now take place between His Majesty's and the German Governments, on any political subject whether affecting Europe or any part of the British Empire. We wanted a complete blockade of communication between us, he said. For pure folly, that would be hard to beat.

Lord Snell for the Labour Party said: Negotiation was still the world's right of way. If we could not negotiate with everybody, at least we might keep hope alive by negotiating with the more enlightened part of the world.

It was left for Lord Ponsonby to drive home again the truth that it was not Munich from which the present troubles of the world have sprung. It was Versailles. In the Treaty which had been signed there, we had set up Czechoslovakia merely as a strategic out-post to prevent Germany from going to the East.

Munich, said Lord Ponsonby, had been just an episode. It had been the attempt of the Prime Ministry to deal in an emergency with situations that had been long in developing. As a step in an emergency, the Prime Minister was right.

Lord Arnold also pleaded for a return

to restraint. The Government was now drifting, he said, into dividing Europe into two hostile camps. Passions ought to be allowed to cool down before anyone talked about a change of policy.

#### A Contradiction

MY own comment on the success or otherwise of Mr. Chamberlain's policy at Munich would be this. He agreed with Hitler to settle future quarrels by reason and conference. That was right. He came home and pressed on with a mighty campaign of armaments. That therefore could not also be right.

The same contradiction is seen in the arrangement about the guarantee of the Czech boundaries. No pacifist would advocate such guarantees. But the rulers at Munich believed in that method and agreed they would guarantee them. Why did they not do so? Clearly, because they would have to meet again and discuss not only the Czech boundaries but also the German colonies which Hitler had told Chamberlain had to come up for settlement. Hitler moreover had said that a

settlement on this matter could be got without war.

Yet Chamberlain came back from Munich to hear his Tory back benchers proclaiming that they would stick to the German colonies through thick and thin. Afterwards he heard his French ally, Daladier, proclaiming the same thing about the colonies which France possesses. But he refrained from rebuking either. Hitler therefore judged there was nothing seriously meant by the Munich participants either about the Czech boundaries or anything else. If we really meant to be serious, both the colonies and the armaments issue should have taken another course. The Prime Minister ought to have charted the new course immediately on his return from Munich. The chart should have been hung for all the world to see.

#### "Saint" Napoleon?

THE speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury is almost beyond comment. Lord Ponsonby said it shocked him, which is about the strongest reprobation the House of Lords would be able to stand.

The Archbishop's enunciation of the doctrine of force could not have been bettered by the most ardent militarist. Might, he said, was Right, so long as it meant the "massing of Might on the side of Right." It almost looks as if Napoleon has found a place in the Right Reverend Prelate's communion of saints. God, said Bonaparte, is on the side of the big battalions.

"I confess," proceeded the Archbishop, "that cooperation with the Soviet may be difficult, but when supreme issues are concerned we must be prepared to accept help from whatever quarter it comes." This renders obsolete:

"Sufficient is Thine arm alone  
And our defence is sure."

There were some things even more sacred than peace. There was only one answer that the German rulers would understand. After all this, the Archbishop passed the buck to the Pope.

The paucity of protest from British church leaders against what the Prelate described as the view of a Christian minister, is even more impressive than the speech itself.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### Premier and the Peace Petition Welcome from Germany Press Silence

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**A**LTHOUGH sufficient people were enthusiastic enough to fill the Queen's Hall to cheer the success of the National Petition for a new peace conference on Saturday, there were plenty who shook their heads in despair because they felt that the current news from Europe rendered the petition futile.

It was on Sunday that a friend expressed to me the view that it was hopeless to expect the nations to meet together in conference in their present mood. I cited, of course, GEORGE LANSBURY's own comment on that the previous evening: if it was urged upon him.

But we had to wait until Tuesday for the most effective answer, when it was reported that "one of the most surprising" features of German press comment on the situation was "the warm welcome given by the German news agency to the 1,062,000 signature petition presented to Mr. Chamberlain yesterday asking the Government to summon a peace conference to end the armaments race."

The rest of the press comment seemed to consist of fury with the policy which our Government was pursuing instead of that of a peace conference.

**Mr. Chamberlain's Attitude**

I WONDER if that "surprising" comment will surprise MR. CHAMBERLAIN into renewing his efforts in that direction.

He is now credited with being definitely anti-German, particularly owing to what he would undoubtedly feel was a personal affront when HERR HITLER broke a promise made personally to him personally. MR. CHAMBERLAIN can, unfortunately, stick as tenaciously to such a mood as he did, fortunately, to his faith in the method of conference.

But he can hardly be less conscious now than then of the folly of war or of the danger of that supreme tragedy if a spirit of enmity is allowed to control policy. Moreover, the deputation which waited on him in the House of Commons on Monday to present the National Petition was particularly struck by the cordiality of his welcome to them.

The very fact that the PRIME MINISTER thought it worth while to give about two hours in the midst of so anxious a time, despite invitations to him to postpone the interview, is itself significant.

THE proceedings were, of course, confidential, but there is no reason to suppose that the brief statement issued afterwards was not the strictly formal expression of the PRIME MINISTER's real appreciation of the common sense of the deputation's representations. He must have been impressed, too, by their moderation, and no doubt thanked them for it.

He can hardly have failed, either, to assure the deputation that the moment the crisis lessened he would look out for fresh opportunities to pursue the policy they urged upon him.

Judging by the optimism of those responsible for the petition, and their determination themselves to seek the first opportunity to press their case again, MR. CHAMBERLAIN seems to have gone out of his way to stress his eagerness to take this way of conference if he felt he possibly could.

#### Opportunity Coming Soon?

THE German seizure of Memel, being in the nature of yet another correction of Versailles, beyond giving peaceful people generally another momentary twinge at the thought of the ease with which these things can be done and temporarily reopening the wound in MR. CHAMBERLAIN's faith in the promise that HERR HITLER had no more territorial claims in Europe, cannot prove another setback.

The evident genuineness of Germany's readiness to discuss just claims, together with the possibly imminent collapse of the crisis owing (mainly) to Italy's probable persuasion of which side her bread is buttered, should more than offset the obstacles and give MR. CHAMBERLAIN the cue for quickly turning the diplomatic consultations to peaceful account.

#### Not News?

THE "surprising" comment from Germany, to which I have already referred, despite its obvious importance, was apparently not considered news by anyone but the allegedly sensational BBC!

Neither, of course, was the Queen's Hall rally which made known the result of the petition. Only *The Times*, of London dailies, had a line for it, and that paper ignored GEORGE LANSBURY altogether (though the reporters all waited at the press table till he'd spoken) and mentioned the petition and number of signatures only incidentally.

Yet few will deny that LANSBURY made

one of the best of his speeches and—what is more to the point at a time when even pacifists begin to think their day is lost—one of his most effective. His welcome was even more remarkable than usual, though I continue to receive reports of warm welcomes wherever he goes.

A Bristol correspondent, for example, writes, enclosing a cutting reporting a dinner-hour service addressed by him:

"These services, held every Friday, are always well attended. LANSBURY has addressed these services before and to large congregations; but yesterday's was really remarkable—packed to the door, chairs in the aisles, people standing at the back, choir stalls filled with members of the public, and hundreds turned away."

#### Petition Collaborators

TO return to the Queen's Hall, one reason for George's warm reception was, of course, the fact that so large a proportion of those present were members of the Peace Pledge Union.

But the cooperation of so many of these (which their presence indicated) and of JOHN BARCLAY in particular in the collection of the signatures does not detract in the least from the credit which is due to the National Peace Council as the organizers of the whole campaign. DR. JOHN, in announcing the figures that are the outward and visible measure of their triumph, paid a well deserved tribute to the work put in by the small staff with their small financial resources and material equipment.

While GERALD BAILEY, as Directing Secretary of the NPC, justifiably receives the bouquets, I know from personal experience that considerably more than a button-hole is due to his right-hand man, MR. W. A. SELBY. He suffered in the Great War as a conscientious objector, and he retains his convictions as firmly as ever as he now gives far more than his due to the service of the National Peace Council.

#### Ninety Percent Response

THOUGH a million signatures to a national petition is itself a remarkable result, and actually far exceeded the organizers' most optimistic estimates, it must be remembered that the aid the NPC could command—including helpers, and especially publicity—was not to be compared with that at the disposal of the organizers of the famous "peace ballot."

What was possible in isolated instances supports the estimate that 90-95% of all who were actually approached for their signatures were in favour of the world conference idea.

Birmingham, for example, which raised a thousand canvassers, topped the list (without counting London as a whole) with 100,000 names; and Aberdare's 20,000 signatures represented 65% of the eligible population of the distressed town.

These and other representative figures decorated the Queen's Hall on Saturday on banners which lent a considerable attraction to the rally. They were made by Hamsell Studios, an enterprising body which other peace organizations would do well to keep in mind.

# LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

## —For Whom?

THE visit to Britain this week of the French President, M. Lebrun, comes at a time when public opinion in this country is being prepared for resistance to Germany.

The issue of freedom versus dictatorship is being raised in an acute form. Mr. Chamberlain himself has declared that he would not sacrifice our liberty even for peace.

In the name of this freedom there are strong demands for redoubled war preparations and for conscription. Reginald Reynolds shows in the following article that to accept these demands will be to give up the freedom for the defence of which they are supposed to be. As a warning to Britain he cites the case of Eugène Lagot, French pacifist, as typical of the way in which one democracy, despite its watch-words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," has killed liberty under conscription.

**By Reginald Reynolds**

**L**IBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY." These were the words that shook the thrones of Europe in 1789. France is today preparing to celebrate the 150th anniversary of her revolution.

It will be a strange celebration. At Rieucros, near Mende, the French Government has opened the first of its "Centres Spéciaux de Rassemblement." Fine words these for concentration camps, where refugees are to be herded. Eugène Lagot and his brave companions are still in jail.

The editor of a French working-class paper, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for writing: "We will not march either for imperialist war or for the Four-Power Pact, which is directed against the USSR." As in the case of Lagot, this has been interpreted as "incitement to insubordination" of French soldiers.

### What Means This Fear?

This is what "democracy" means in a conscript country. How can France fight for liberty while men like Eugène Lagot lie in her prisons? What means this fear of Fascism beyond her frontiers which corrupts from within the rights it arms to protect?

From his prison Lagot writes always in the same strain: "Do not worry yourselves about me. I am only a symbol of what conscription means. Tell your people that under conscription the French people are slaves. Warn them of the real purpose behind that National Register."

He does not exaggerate. In 1926 an Act was passed in France which Wilson Harris described as follows in the *Daily News* (April 19, 1926):

"It means conscription not only for men, women and, if need be, children, but the assumption also of unlimited authority by the Government."

### A Pardon Refused

It is the custom in France for a political prisoner to be granted a pardon after having served half of his sentence and the friends of Eugène Lagot hoped that he would receive the benefit of this regulation at the end of February.

He has been officially informed by the Director of the Prison de la Santé that the request for release was favourably considered by the Ministry of Justice but that because he was sentenced on a military offence the matter had to be transferred to the Ministry of War and there M. Daladier had refused to give a favourable decision.

It is said in France that it would be dangerous for war preparations, in which the French Government is so frantically engaged, that active pacifists should be at liberty at the present time.

ment over any association of persons, such as a trade union. . . ."

This may not be the logical way to defend democracy, but it is the logic of war, as Wilson Harris pointed out. When it is a question of war nobody asks you whether you have "a stake in the country" and what right you have to kill or die for it. Efficient butchery takes precedence over all other questions.

### Conscription Means Slavery

But even in time of peace conscription means slavery. True, they cannot enslave Eugène Lagot and his comrades, but millions have accepted their chains without resistance. Economic freedom perishes with the freedom of the individual—witness the French railway strike of 1910, broken by Briand when he called the strikers to the colours.

In 1937 Léon Blum, the French Socialist leader, paved the way for a repetition of Briand's policy. "Two days ago," he said, "Mr. Baldwin in noble and touching words called for the cooperation of capital and labour. French democracy also will show that it can combine the spirit of progress with the spirit of order and wisdom . . ." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 8, 1937).

The watchword had become "National Unity"—the first step to totalitarianism—and before the year was out it showed its true nature. On December 30 *The Times* announced that M. Chautemps had decided to crush a strike in Paris:

"His decision, unanimously approved by his colleagues, including the Socialists, is that, if the men do not return to work, the transport services, including personnel, will, by virtue of a decree published in 1926, be taken over by the State and compelled to operate normally." (My italics.)

That strike collapsed. Within a few months a similar situation had been dealt with in the same way; and before the end of 1938 Daladier had effectively used the weapon with which his predecessors had threatened and browbeaten the French workers on two occasions.

### War-Time England

Winston Churchill in his *World Crisis* tells the same story of war-time England: how he planned to use conscription in order to break a strike in Coventry, and would have done so if the strike had not been broken by other means. When, in 1925, the War Office decided to form a Railway Reserve, consisting of men from all the different trades employed by the railway companies, the *Daily Herald* (January 9, 1925) reported "a strong feeling among the men that members of such a reserve might be used to break a railway strike." The *Herald* reported Mr. Bromley as saying: "I see no reason for it other than the use of this force in times of strike." Yet that was only a *volunteer* force!

So much for economic freedom, dear to the trade unions. The full purpose of conscription, as we know, is far more deadly than this. When a man was accidentally killed during bayonet practice at Chatham Naval Barracks in 1930 the foreman of the Coroner's jury said: "While we have to train professional butchers it must be

M. ALBERT  
LEBRUN,  
President of  
the French  
Republic.



carried out in this way."

The horror of a man thrust through the body by his own comrade made military training appear for a moment exactly what it is. Perhaps there was irony in the Coroner's reply: "I don't think you ought to use that expression. We must look upon them as the guardians of the Empire."

### Training in Butchery

The function of "National Service" in the scheme of preparation for compulsory training in butchery was stated by Sir John Anderson himself: "If this country became involved in war we should need a complete national register. . . . The transition from the voluntary register to the complete compulsory register would be smooth, easy and expeditious." Lord Lothian in *The Times* (March 14, 1938) spoke of National Service as a weapon which would "do far

more to convince Germany and Italy" than "adding to the numerous pledges by treaty we have already signed."

If our memories were longer we might have recalled that Lord Roberts' movement for conscription before the War was called the *National Service League*.

Not for nothing is it written, in the manual on "Citizenship" which the United States War Department has prepared for the instruction of military officials in colleges, that democracy is "mobocracy." The military mind hates freedom, which is the enemy of military discipline. Whoever else may forget it, the War Office knows that conscription means the defeat of all those cherished ideals for which France is about to offer a mass of requiem: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. They will not be re-born in this world without a struggle, and the time for that struggle is now.



## FIRST in the FIELD

FROM the earliest days of co-operative societies, the need for a wholesaling side to co-operative distribution was obvious to the leading spirits. The result was the formation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society Ltd., financed and controlled by the retail societies—organised to give their members fuller and better value. Since its formation that has been the sole aim of the C.W.S. As manufacturer in the consumer's interest it was not only *first in the field*. To-day, when C.W.S. products are available in so wide a range and at such reasonable prices at your co-operative society, you are taking the most effective steps to safeguard your interests as a consumer when you ask for, and insist upon getting,

**C.W.S. goods**

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Plans for Organization :: Pacifists and the Threat of Fascism

THE expressions of opinion on the future organization of the Peace Pledge Union, both in *Peace News* and in group discussion, have been rather bewildering. The contributions in last week's *Peace News* from Dr. Pugh and Andrew Stewart have helped considerably toward a clearing of issues.

If, as Mr. Stewart insists, the PPU remains a loose organization embracing all those who are willing to sign the peace pledge, then there is need for some inner organization for those whose pacifism has other and growing implications:

I believe that pacifism, even in its narrower interpretation as a refusal of modern war, cannot long hold out under present conditions unless it has a foundation in that pacifism of wider significance whose representatives are Aldous Huxley, Max Plowman and Middleton Murry.

There is undoubtedly a strong case for keeping in existence the large, loose organization for which Mr. Stewart pleads, but if we remember what Bertrand Russell wrote in 1936, and realize its added importance for today, we will insist on some more intimate form of organizations: "What is needed now is action by individuals, in unison, inspired by reason and passion intimately combined." (Which Way to Peace?)

V. C. REYNOLDS.  
74 Pentre Gardens, Cardiff.

## Mass-Observation

THERE is much vague talk about the study of our neighbour and our neighbour's point of view being one of the surest ways of preventing war.

Yet, we complain, how are we to understand how others are thinking and feeling when we ourselves scarcely know what to think thanks to the welter of propaganda, the distortions of the press, and the selection of news? Admittedly, propaganda does not always work in the way its promoters intend.

But whichever way it affects us, none of us is immune from propaganda and how can the average man, without surplus cash, make his needs and desires known against such a noisy opponent? How can a real "public opinion" be vocal when every propagandist is yelling at us that "everybody agrees that . . . the man in the street welcomes the news that . . . public opinion has come round to the view that . . ." all to prove entirely conflicting points of view? Above the babel, the voice of "mass-observation" is making itself heard.

Mass-Observation is an organization of an increasing number of voluntary observers throughout this country (and now spreading beyond this country) engaged on making national and local surveys of the collected opinions of all classes on any subjects of interest to humanity.

Their collected data and statistics on what this very elusive "man in the street" thinks on such questions as "what I would do in the event of war," the two-minutes silence, anti-Semitism, or housing, would seem, though not infallible, a much more reliable estimate than that which any one individual could form, however impartial. And as the number of observers increases the counteraction of any personal prejudice in reporting is increased.

Britain, by Mass-Observation, in the Penguin series for instance (a most lively and enlightening book) is the combined work of one thousand five hundred such observers. It is a book, quite definitely, not especially in favour of pacifism, or any other "ism" (though some of its statistics were more convincing of the strength of organized pacifism than the most startling headlines of *Peace News*).

Mass-Observation, unlike the majority of genuinely well-meaning movements, is not concerned with what we ought to think, but with what we do think; it's only object is the scientific collection of data by which to gauge the physical, mental and spiritual needs of the human race, the use of such a collection being for the betterment of social conditions. With such an object in view it would seem that participation in such a movement is a very real form of constructive pacifism. Particulars may be had from Mass-Observation, 6 Grottoes Building, Blackheath, S.E.3.

KATHLEEN MORLEY.  
Thornwood, Ribblesdale Place,  
Barrowford, Nelson, Lancs.

## A Challenge to Pacifists Now

THE events of the past week call for a re-orientation of our views and policy toward German fascism. Hitherto pacifists have regarded Hitler's demands as relatively just demands, which could be justly met.

The reason for this has been that many of his demands were for a revision of the Versailles decisions. Let us not hide the fact that that treaty was as iniquitous a piece of banditry as one can imagine.

Deliberate attempts have been made to confuse this with the treaty of St. Germain which, in spite of the Sudeten question and certain other demerits, can only be considered a juster settlement than the pre-war position in Eastern Europe, involving as it did the domination of Czech and Slovak Nationalism by the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

It must be admitted by unbiased observers that there is no shadow of excuse for the virtual annexation of the rump of Czechoslovakia. On the other hand, Hitler's repudiation of his word of last September is in line with his whole policy as outlined in *Mein Kampf*, to which he has adhered with far greater veracity than to subsequent statements.

His objectives are frankly admitted to be not only concerned with the *Drang nach Osten*, but with the annihilation of France and military hegemony of Europe.

Today there is no excuse for ignoring these facts, unpleasant as they may be. Pacifists rightly condemn British imperialism, but we should be careful to avoid supporting the German or Japanese variety and not to pay too much attention to apparent injustices as between two bandits.

It should also be realized that Mr. Chamberlain's policy of "appeasement" in the East and rearmament in the West, savours too much of a desire to see the USSR dismembered at the hands of the triangle Rome-Berlin-Tokyo, to be considered a pacifist policy.

We must realize that either we act now or we shall live to see Europe withered in the fire of racial persecu-

tion and quenched with the people's blood.

I therefore suggest that pacifists and all the allies they can gain unite in supporting the following measures:

1. Breaking off of diplomatic relations with Berlin as a protest and refusal to recognize the conquest of Czechoslovakia.

2. Breaking off trade negotiations, as these can only strengthen the hand of Ruhr Industrialists who support Hitler, and will not benefit the German masses.

3. Immediate opening of economic, political and other negotiations with France, Russia, the USA, Poland, and the remaining countries of the "Little Entente."

4. Convening of a World Peace Conference on the lines suggested by Maxim Litvinoff and President Roosevelt, to which the axis Powers should be invited on terms of equality and at which the principles of international law and justice should be reaffirmed and economic and territorial grievances considered.

5. Admission of large numbers of refugees, direct Government help to these, and large grants for public works, enlarged medical services, agricultural reconstruction, and effective ARP in order to absorb these refugees and our own unemployed.

6. Germany's colonial demands should be met by the demand of self-determination for all oppressed peoples. To achieve this we should conduct a campaign for:

(a) Immediate independence for British India and withdrawal of British support to the native princes.

(b) An investigation of British Policy in Palestine.

(c) Pressure on the Union Government to alter the iniquitous native policy in South Africa.

(d) An investigation and full publicity on conditions in the West Indies and African Colonies.

(e) Repeal of the Special Powers Act in Northern Ireland.

7. Withdrawal of the British Ambassador at Burgos until a just and lasting peace is concluded with the Spanish Republic, including the withdrawal of foreign troops and an amnesty for all political prisoners.

8. These measures must be related to the struggle against conscription at home and determined exposure of national service and the replacement of the Chamberlain Government by a Government of the people. At the same time we must expose the Labour bureaucrats, who support national service and show all the social-chauvinist sympathies of the heroes of the 2nd International in 1914.

DAVID W. SMITH.  
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Middlesex.

## Are Pacifists Wasting Time?

I DEPLORE the pessimism of Miss Jameson's article of March 10. If only the 123,000 members of the PPU will concentrate all their efforts on (1) increasing their numbers; (2) demanding a world conference to end imperialism, give a fair share of the world's goods to every nation, and combine economic justice with total disarmament, and (3) opposing conscription and all preparation for war, it may well be that we shall have peace in our time and for all time.

But for pacifists to waste time on first aid and ARP, for which millions of non-pacifists have time and energies to spare, is not merely to divide pacifist energy but to betray our pledge in which we vowed never to support or sanction war.

If pacifists give up their drive for pacifism and disarmament, and waste time in first aid and ARP, they will be doing all that the Government wants them or could possibly expect them to do toward preparing the country for war.

Why is it that our numbers have not increased rapidly during the last year? Not because the facts of everyday life have not increased the truth of pacifism, but because a large percentage of our efforts is being squandered on community work, refugees, unemployment, and first aid. These are all of importance to many members as individuals, but they are not the objects of the PPU.

Let us stick to Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge, and take as our motto, "On to the first million."

"ACTION."

## "Let Us Try Ourselves Out"

IN all our discussions and especially in our future discussions on the policy and organization of the Peace Pledge Union at the annual general meeting, let us all as pacifists practice what we preach and show good will, cooperation and understanding to the other persons point of view, with whom we disagree. In fact the AGM should be a real testing time for our pacifism. In this way we can see how far along the road of cooperation and good will we ourselves have travelled.

We must realize as pacifists, we all hold our own individual point of view, which seems very real and important to ourselves, but we must all try and realize that the other person's point of view is as important to them as ours is to us; and remembering that first as a basis of cooperation.

We all want the best to happen for the movement and in face of this, let us face the fact that there is sure to be some of us who are a little disappointed about some decision or another that is made. Let us prepare ourselves for this, for sake of the greater ideal we all hold.

KATHLEEN M. IBBOTSON.

22 Holly Park, London, N.3.

## MEAT EATING INVOLVES CRUELTY!

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WITH reference to Mr. Muggeridge's letter (*Peace News*, March 10) regarding fascism and the pacifist, it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that political opposition to fascism is no solution. Something much greater is needed. That something, as he indicates, is of the nature of a renewal of our spiritual foundations.

The history of social evolution shows us that thought froms create their consequent social forms. As a man thinks, so will it be become. As a society thinks, so will it be.

But social evolution, if it is to go further, requires more than an evolutionary theory which stops at the physical form; it requires a concept of the evolution of human consciousness. It requires, instead of a psychology which denies the soul and knows no spirit, a spiritual science which discovers the latent faculties for good will and high spiritual intelligence in man, and as such affirms the soul and re-discovers the spirit.

GLADYS MAYER.  
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## How Can We Help?

"WHAT am I going to do about it?" must be a recurrent question to all pacifists. May a sixty-year-old offer some observations? Let it be granted:

That all human institutions are founded on good and at bottom are reasonable. I have found this a safe rule in dealing with men of many nations and trades, and it has often helped me out of difficulties.

That Governments can only act by consent of their people. Consent of the majority does not exclude fierce discontent on the part of some.

That any government's most obvious job is to see that its people get not less than their share of good things; and so to be prepared to protect them from attack.

That the scale of modern war is so vast that no government can say "We have enough for any war."

That to induce men to spend a quarter of their working time in preparing to kill each other they must be thoroughly frightened.

In Europe today we have undoubtedly personal good will between men and women of all nations, largely overlaid with government propaganda of fear. How can pacifists help? Not by completing the circuit of fear and excitement; not by providing the opposition that an explosive needs to be effective. These lead nowhere, but increase the din and confusion.

By standing fast on their faith in human nature, by constituting themselves, deliberately and all the time, nonconductors of fear (a single flaw in a single wire can stop a motorbus), by calmly facing the turnip lanterns of propaganda, by finding grounds of agreement and on them building for peace, pacifists can do a great deal to hush the noise and let truth and justice get a hearing.

No doubt, were it conscious, the crest of the wave would think it was doing all the work. When men at sea go to the help of their fellows, the first thing they do is to pour oil on the water to prevent the waves forming crests at all. The next is to pass a line to let the distressed men cooperate.

S. A. WICKSTEED.  
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## Catholics and War

Without unduly prolonging a discussion, may I say, in response to the last letter of Mr. Burfoot, Secretary of "Pax," that I think his remark, to the effect that among Catholics pacifism is a matter for the individual conscience, does meet my difficulty.

I think it would be gravely erroneous to represent pacifism as "the traditional doctrine of the Church"; but, if "Pax" aims simply at promoting the cause of peace among Catholics, that is an aim to be encouraged in every way.

J. W. POYNTER.  
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\*This correspondence is now closed.—Ed.

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# BLUE FUNK

PERHAPS the most striking fact about the world today is that it is full of preoccupation which prevents the finest flowering of the human spirit, a contradiction of the true Christian life, which must be lived in an atmosphere of trust and of good will. And as certainly as perfect love casteth out fear, so fear casteth out love.

We see approaching the possibility of the air filled with death-dealing bombers, cities, villages and fields only visited by the very brave, and the mass of the population huddled in a living death in caves and holes in the earth like the ancient troglodytes.

This kind of life, if it can be called, this preoccupation with the death of ourselves and others, is utterly unworthy of human beings, who are divine spirits, not machines to kill and be killed. Somehow they must break through this nightmare which grips them more and more every day.

## Beyond Civilization

DR. MELVILLE MACKENZIE, a delegate from the League of Nations, was able, some years ago, to persuade the native chiefs on the West Coast of Africa that they would be just as safe all unarmed as all armed, but this seems to be beyond the power of so-called civilized nations to grasp. They fail utterly to see that "when everybody is somebody, then nobody is anybody," that they are no safer with their millions and millions of pounds wasted than they are without. Or, as a rhyme composed in prison during the war by two conscientious objectors, puts it:

Twenty million Christians,  
By charlatans enticed,  
Each took up his little gun,  
To fight for Jesus Christ.  
Two heathen Chinamen  
Seeing all the bother,  
One said sadly  
Turning to his brother,  
Is not this a strange way  
To show they love each other?

Gandhi pointed out recently that it is open to the Great Powers to take up the way of non-violence any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. "If they, or any of them, could shed the fear of destruction, if they disarmed themselves, they would automatically help the rest to regain their sanity."

Fear is really a dangerous form of cowardice; it attracts what you are afraid of, while on the other hand people hold in awe a truly fearless man.

## Power of Fear

YET today patriotism is considered to consist in emphasizing fear, and encouraging it in every way. It is fear which makes us spend endless money, thought and energy on ARP instead of cooperating for the good of all. It was fear which made us close our Empire to Free Trade, because we were afraid of the prosperity of other nations. Has that brought us anything but dead World Trade and hatred, and thereby immensely increased international tension?

It is fear which is making us keep out all but a very few of the poor hunted refugees from Central Europe, whereas if we would but open our eyes to the truth we should know that they would not take away employment but on the contrary increase it. The Home Secretary stated in the House in November, 1938, that as the result of 11,000 German refugees settling in this country, 15,000 British workmen had been given employment.

It is certain that to live in this state of fear is definitely wrong. It is a most waste-

a casteth a stone on high casteth it on his own head; and a deceitful stroke shall make wounds. Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein. He that worketh mischief, it shall fall upon him, and he shall not know whence it cometh. He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord and he will surely keep his sins in remembrance."

We have done mischief. I have already referred to the harm we have done through fear, and the results are now returning to us in the increased terror of today. We

need to remind people that we have a share, and a very considerable share in producing it, and are bound to work to alter it. Individually we may seem very powerless, but just as fear and panic are terribly infectious and threaten to overwhelm us all today, so also are faith and confidence, and those are virtues sorely needed of us today.

However black the outlook, let us remember that expected fears do not always materialize. Several absolutely definite prophecies in recent months have given the date of the outbreak of war. Those dates have passed, and thank God the prophecies were nullified.

## Let Us Keep Faith

SO let us live in the belief that war is not inevitable and let us build in our hearts the vision of the world, which must be built if man is to claim his birthright as a Son of God. It is no idle dreaming, it is the laying of the foundation stone of it, for nothing can become a reality until the vision is seen and shared.

Above all, let us keep our faith in God, and remember that His laws govern the Universe, and nothing can live which is not founded on them. Why it is that man refuse to learn this?

The world must awake and open its eyes and ears and know that Christ is not dead. He is risen.

## Natives Bear White Man's Burden

These figures from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs show how the revenue from purely native sources is used very largely for other than native purposes.

	1932	1937
£	£	£
Total revenue from purely native sources (including native tax)	362,668	423,125
Native development	98,856	135,958
The Native Development Vote includes £42,000 given in grants to missions.		

## Strategy and Sport

I would like to see the neutral ground between us and Spain, now some 300 yards, extended to an arc of some 25 miles from Tarifa via Castella to the Mediterranean to make both Gibraltar and the Royal Calpe Hunt safe.

—General Sir Charles Harrington, late Governor of Gibraltar.

## Lesson of Unrest in Jamaica

The significance of the present situation in Jamaica for the whole colonial empire and especially for Africa is pointed out in an article in the April issue of *Empire*.

Though colour has always counted socially in Jamaica, "black men sleep in the same hospital wards as white, send their children to the same schools, serve on juries, and send coloured men to the Legislature. In British Africa itself none of these things could happen."

The article points out however, that West Indian affairs are "astonishingly backward." The economic condition of the masses is bad. "What makes the air of Jamaica explosive," it adds, "is the black fellows' fear that what our grandfathers won for their grandfathers is being lost. For they won, in the West Indies, that battle for equal rights before the law which their children and we their grandchildren have in Africa itself never tried to fight."

"So dark is the prospect that the principal Jamaican daily demands the recall of the Royal Commission, on the ground that it has seen and heard quite enough to know what ought to be done and that if its report is not written at once and then acted on at once disorder on a much worse scale is likely."

*Empire* urges that "popular representation of the Negro people on full democratic lines in the colonial legislatures is the essential first step."

## Plea for Boycott of Aggressors

The aims of the League for the Boycott of Aggressor Nations were explained at a screen show given in Chelsea last week.

The programme included the March of Time films, *Inside Nazi Germany*, *Conquest No. 1, Vienna Today*, and *Czecho-Slovakia*, and the Kino film, *Stop Japan*. Mrs. Henrietta Leslie presided, and the hon. secretary, Miss Gertrude Lieben, gave an address in which she described the growth of the Nazis' power, beginning with the democracies' missed opportunities, of treating with a democratic Germany.

"We believe Germany can be brought down by a relentless boycott," she said. "But don't boycott only one aggressor."

## Hastings Pax Players

At last week's Hastings music festival the Hastings Pax Players secured a certificate of merit with their entry *There is no Glory*.

Commenting on the performance, the adjudicator said the play was a difficult one likely to produce the unwanted laugh and stressing the sincerity of the playing, said that it was often moving in its appeal. It received the prolonged applause from an audience of about 300.

# £580,000,000 - A First Instalment

## Yearly Payments on the Navy

THE millions spent on new ships for the Navy do not represent the final burden that has to be borne by the community. Every year further large sums have to be found.

In a written answer to Mr. Cecil Wilson, MP, Mr. Geoffrey Shakespeare gave the following "approximate annual cost for pay, victualling, clothing, repairs, maintenance and other expenses (excluding the accruing liability for pensions to personnel)" of various types of vessel:

Battleship ("Rodney")	£317,000
Battlecruiser ("Hood")	311,000
Destroyer ("K" Class)	57,000
Cruiser ("Southampton" Class)	196,000
Cruiser ("Dido" Class)	130,000
Aircraft Carrier ("Illustrious")	581,000a
Submarine ("Seal")	40,500
Submarine ("Triton")	36,500
Submarine ("Unity")	27,000

(a) Inclusive of maintenance of aircraft and of air personnel.

These yearly amounts make an appreciable addition to the original cost of the ships (from £6,150,000 in the case of the "Rodney" down to £500,000 in the case of a "K" Class destroyer).

We asked a few pacifists, representative of the "man-in-the-street," for their views on the "defence" Estimates totalling £580,000,000. Here is one opinion, from Cardiff.

LIKE the man in the strip cartoon the Government does things in a big way—sometimes! For years it has muddled along with patchwork solutions for such problems as unemployment, malnutrition, housing, &c., then one morning we awake to find that the colossal sum of £580 millions is to be spent on defence.

£580 millions—voted by the Government; the Opposition, falling over itself in its anxiety to comply; the taxpayer grumbling as usual, but ready to do his duty (more ready in this instance, as this duty will probably be postponed to future generations, if any). Then, "the man-who-doesn't-pay-taxes," a sub-species of that illusive creature the man-in-the-street, momentarily staggered by so many noughts on the newspaper placards, faces up manfully to the demand and promptly forgets about it.

Here and there, however, among the multitude of the great British public, a few politically conscious individuals, pacifists, cranks and other queer birds, begin to consider the implications of this expenditure. And it certainly has implications.

No country, however wealthy, can continue to sidetrack such huge sums into what

is a largely unproductive channel without a day of reckoning. We have a Tavistock to tell us that: "As long as the diversion of labour and materials to armament-making still leaves enough for the ordinary industries, and as long as the latter are able, by increased output, to back the new money created by armament loans, no bankruptcy, financial or otherwise, need result" (*Peace News*, March 10), but we are not reassured.

There seems to be a snag in that phrase "as long as," for we remember an effective cartoon in a local paper with this comment on the £580 millions defence expenditure: "It will give you ample protection for the time being, John. Of course, we will add to it as time goes on." Yes, there's the snag, this expenditure is an ever-increasing drag on our resources; a prostitution of the productive and creative capacities of the nation; and such prostitution brings its inevitable judgment.

As *The Spectator* pointed out some time ago, "The most disastrous defeat we could suffer at the hands of totalitarian States would be the adoption of the worst features in their system in the belief that it was essential to our self-defence," and this expenditure on armaments is one of the marks of our adoption.

A little further along this road and we will become brothers by adoption; finally, blood brothers, and the cost will be more than £580 millions.

V. C. Reynolds

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

**I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.**

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

MARCH 24, 1939

## The Editor's Point of View

### What Can We Do?

THE essential thing to do at this time is to keep one's head and resolutely refuse to be carried away on any wave of popular feeling.

It is significant that the greatest defection from the pacifist position occurs when the threat to peace is greatest. Yet it is utterly unreasonable, once one has seen war for the evil that it is and has renounced it, to retreat from that position. For it is impossible to imagine a reason for renouncing war and pledging oneself never to support another that will not hold in all (and certainly in present) circumstances.

Has war, for example, become less futile all of a sudden, just because HITLER has marched into Prague? Has it become one whit more possible to save democracy or preserve freedom by war than it was in 1914? The dictatorship in France on the mere threat of war is already an eloquent reply: for all its imposition by "consent" (actually by a comparatively small majority of deputies elected only by a majority of their constituents), it remains a dictatorship.

Has it become more possible to save minorities or small nations by war than it was only six months ago, when the common people of this and other countries thanked God that MR. CHAMBERLAIN had not attempted that impossible task?

Has HITLER's action so transformed the character of war that it is no longer the bestial thing it was when those who tasted it swore "Never again!"? Does war now preserve truth instead of making it the first casualty? Does it strengthen body, mind, and spirit instead of tearing bodies to "bloody shreds," deranging minds for good, and breaking spirits by destroying all faith in men?

Does war suddenly mean less waste of every kind of wealth than it did when thousands for whom the fuller life had a material meaning pledged themselves never to sanction the thing which they recognized as the deadly enemy of that fuller, richer life? And has something happened that these things can ensure a less ghastly aftermath of war in nineteen forty-something than they could in 1918?

Above all, is war now—in 1939, with HITLER in Czechoslovakia, and whatever he (or we) may do next—less of a blasphemy against God and man than it has ever been? Did Jesus say, "Love your enemies only so long as they don't dominate Europe"?

Mankind has not ceased to be a family with common interests and common tasks which can best be pursued for the benefit of all in cooperation with one another just because some men, failing (like us as a nation) to realize that, have practised selfishness in a form that seems to many (but by no means all) of us to be more blatant than anything we ever did.

In short, the events that move so rapidly now provide no reason whatever for anyone to withdraw the pledge, "I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another." If possible, they make more necessary than ever the task of winning more and more people to that position.

The only difference the changed international situation can possibly make to what the pacifist can do is in the actual application of the implications of his pledge to that situation. In presenting the impressive petition for a new world conference to the Prime Minister on Monday the deputation that waited on him, so far from pursuing a futility, set an example in persistence that is much needed at this time. And in their statement to Mr. Chamberlain they showed that even the change from a policy of appeasement to one of (limited) collective action has retained the possibility of an ultimate peaceful outcome. For it is still possible if consultation between this and other countries were to include arrangements for a joint approach to Germany on the basis of a genuine generosity to which even an encircled country could not fail to respond. To press for that is the pacifist's new line of action, while he calls even more insistently for more generous aid for refugees, and continues to stand firm to his pledge and to win others to a similar renunciation of war.

**Humphrey S. Moore**

# Arms are a Symptom Not a Disease

says Dr. MAUDE ROYDEN

MY attitude toward armaments is a rather heretical one among pacifists, for I think they are more a symptom than a disease and I would rather get rid of the disease than the symptom.

Armaments are to me like a terribly expensive kind of ointment which a doctor might prescribe for dealing with the rash of someone suffering from measles. Such a prescription would be perfectly idiotic and might conceivably even do harm, I suppose; but I wouldn't waste my time protesting about it. I would rather get on with treating the disease.

It has always seemed to me that George Fox had the stick by the right end when he advised a recently converted Quaker to wear his sword "as long as thou canst."

If he were a truly convinced Quaker, he wouldn't be able to wear it long.

I believe that this is Christ's way too. Believers in war constantly remind us that He never rebuked a soldier for being a soldier or denounced war as war. We pacifists reply that He preached a gospel which ruled war out altogether, and lived a life which was a perfect and satisfying example of the renunciation of violence in favour of spiritual power.

## A Vicious Circle

IT is because my pacifism is founded on His that I believe armaments to be a symptom and not a disease. I was never really enthusiastic about the Disarmament Conference nor surprised at its failure.

I always held that the French were right in insisting that security must come before disarmament and not, as the British were inclined to argue, that disarmament would by itself and in itself create a sense of security.

I know that the terrific armaments now being created by the nations do create an agonizing sense of insecurity, because we are moving in a vicious circle: but I hold that the point at which to break the circle is not disarmament but security.

Armaments, however, are, we are assured, precisely for this purpose—security. But anyone, pacifist or not, will agree that the security provided by arms when one is surrounded by enemies is far less than the security which he enjoys when surrounded by friends. So obvious is this that, even while the nations arm, they look round feverishly for friends and declare that it is only the hostile intentions of other nations that force them to waste their money on armaments at all.

## Millions for Fear, None for Good Will

TO waste their money! This is the real bitterness of our armaments bill to me. What might we not do with that money if we had it for other ends than war!

We know that war is, if not invariably yet very often, the consequence of economic stress, of poverty and misery at home. Yet we waste our money on arms which the hungry cannot eat, nor the naked wear, nor the homeless live in.

We know that acts of friendliness are worth more than expressions of sympathy. Yet we cannot accept refugees or rescue them from misery and death, because we cannot afford to do it. It would cost millions and we have got millions, but we are spending them on arms.

It would cost millions to take whole families of refugees across the world and settle them in new countries. It is unjust to allow Hitler to take eighty million pounds off the Jews in Germany and turn them friendless into the world for us to support. New and almost empty countries have their own population problems, their own unemployed: they cry out against the proposal to send refugees to them, however good citizens they may be and however empty the land to which they would go. And it would surely be monstrous to let them come here, because we too have our hosts of unemployed.

But we have those millions and millions of pounds and we could do all these things with them. We spend them on arms instead.

I do not speak here of the innumerable ways in which the social services are being starved or killed in this country because I want to concentrate on the question of peace and security. And I say that we are buying the least secure and the most expensive form of security with the money which would give us the most certainty. We are spending millions in order to frighten our enemies, when we have the opportunity of turning them into our friends.

Take, for example, the eighty million pounds of which Hitler is said to have robbed the Jews in Germany. We claim, and no doubt quite fairly if fairness is all we want, that it is not just for him to be allowed to take this money, and that we cannot connive at such injustice by receiving the robbed refugees penniless on our shores. It is not just! And Jews are thrust into concentration camps, or left to die in the No Man's Land between the frontiers of "good" and the "bad" nations, while we argue and scold and bargain about the price of their lives.

CHRIST did not tell us to be just: He told us not to judge. He did not tell us to bargain about other people's lives: He told us to rescue them from thieves and robbers, and to provide for them ourselves.

I suppose if one of us had been in the crowd listening to our Lord while he told the parable of the Good Samaritan we should have pointed out that it was exceedingly wrong of the robbers to rob him and then to leave him by the wayside to the mercy of any chance passer-by. We should have urged that, until we had the assurance of the robber that he would return at least some part of the money he had stolen from the traveller, our sense of what was just and right forbade us from doing anything for him ourselves. We might even have urged that it was taking us all our time to provide ourselves with swords in case we met a robber and that this really left us no money at all with which to provide for those who fell by the way. Meantime I suppose the unfortunate traveller would have died.

Of course we wouldn't do this really. Of course when we see the individual sufferer we don't waste our time arguing about our consciences, and about the rights and wrongs of robbery. We simply do what we can for him and have him bound up and fed. And so those who meet individual refugees want, sometimes almost frantically, to do all they can for them, and are reminded that we can't afford to do this or that or the other. We have our fleet to keep, we have our army to increase, we have our air force to create.

There is not enough money for everything.

## Cry of the Refugees

AGAIN, the Zionists maintain that Jewish refugees will not accept any offer but Palestine.

This may be true of the small number of Jews who are Zionists but that it is not true of Jews as a whole is well known to those who are trying first of all to get them out of the concentration camps of Germany, into something like safety. There are thousands and hundreds of thousands who ask only to be received somewhere, and somewhere to be in peace.

Can't we find that somewhere? Oh yes—but it would cost millions, I am told.

So we can't send them to safety. We are at too much expense keeping an army of soldiers in Palestine to stand between the Arabs and the Jews.

I know money can't do everything and perhaps I sound as though I thought it could. But I know too that it can be sacramental and when, at every turn, I am met by the cry: "We can't help these people! We can't help our own people! Because we haven't got the money," I sometimes think money can do a whole lot more than we are willing to admit.

We want a refugee to get out of Germany. We can't—until someone will guarantee his support here and his transport to some other hypothetical country in due time. And no one can guarantee all that. It is such a lot! So let the man rot in a concentration camp. After all, it would not be fair to relieve Hitler of the expense of keeping him!

## Love and Justice

WHAT has this to do with Christianity? Nothing. "God isn't interested in justice: He is only interested in love." And those men and women are not interested in justice either. They only want to get away, and to get their wives and families away too.

Here is a vast world crammed with wealth and most of it belongs to the peace-loving peoples. They are peace-loving because most of the wealth belongs to them. They are shocked when other nations love peace less than they do. They label such nations "aggressor." But if we agreed, not only to look after the refugees but to set right the true injustices of the nations? If, remembering that the root of war is human suffering, we set ourselves to redress the balance a bit, to share our enormous wealth, to serve instead of denouncing other nations?

Oh, of course we can't! We are not really rich at all. We are quite poor. We stagger under the load of our taxation. We cannot even look after our own people because we are so poor. Why, we even find it difficult to pay for our arms. We shall have to leave our children to pay for the most of them!

I do not mind people having luxuries, even if I can't have them and do not want them. It doesn't interest me to protest against arms in themselves.

But I want that money. I want it to use as Christ would have used it. I want to turn our enemies into friends.

# 1,062,000 Sign Peace Petition

## STEP FORWARD IN DRIVE FOR NEW WORLD CONFERENCE

THE petition of well over a million British people (including many from overseas parts of the Empire), praying the Government to take, in consultation with the President of the United States, the necessary steps to secure the holding of a new peace conference open to all nations was laid before the Prime Minister on Monday by a representative deputation led by the Bishop of Chelmsford (for deputation's statement and list of members, see page 12).

The actual number of those who have signed the petition (which was organised by the National Peace Council) was announced by Dr. Joad at a rally held in the Queen's Hall, London, on Saturday, as 1,062,000. That was to be by no means the end of the campaign, he said, and almost immediately deputations would be waiting on Members of Parliament and prospective candidates to press upon them the claims of the petition and to obtain their opinions.

### Message to the German People

IN his introductory address from the chair, see life entirely differently. Who dare say the Bishop of Chelmsford said they would like to say to the German people at that moment:

"We believe firmly and unchangeably that a peace that is worth while and is to endure must be founded upon justice for all peoples. The central plea of the petition 'for a new peace conference,' which has been signed by over a million British citizens—and which has, we are confident, the support of the great majority of our fellow countrymen—is precisely that a true peace can only be assured on the basis of the fundamental and common needs of the ordinary people in all countries.

"But the justice and liberty we earnestly desire for you and for ourselves we desire equally for the people of Czechoslovakia, whose independence has been destroyed by forceful annexation. We believe that you, too, would repudiate the measures taken in your name and the suffering they have brought to the people of Czechoslovakia, and will share our dismay at the inevitable setback to the prospects of peace which those actions have caused."

#### SIMILAR EFFORTS ABROAD

Dr. Joad, who announced that the total number of signatories of the National Petition was 1,062,000, said there had been similar efforts in Australia, the United States, and France. Dr. A. D. Belden (who was among the many original sponsors of the petition on the platform) would be going to America shortly and would take an opportunity of presenting the British petition to President Roosevelt.

Miss Vera Brittain spoke briefly, particularly on behalf of the writers and artists who had sponsored the petition, and she ventured to do so also on behalf of those of their fellow writers and artists in Europe who had been persecuted for their views.

"You are never going to get rid of the god of war until there is social and economic justice," said Mr. H. H. Elvin. Referring to the claim that much preparation was necessary before a world conference could be held, he said they had to get on with such preparedness on the basis of the cooperation of France, Russia, America and ourselves.

"I do not believe that war is inevitable," he said.

Miss E. M. Tanner, headmistress of Roedean School, said it was important for the younger generation that there should be now an active and constructive policy toward the ideal of international cooperation as the best means of establishing permanent peace.

#### MR. LANSBURY'S WELCOME

A specially warm welcome awaited George Lansbury, particularly when he described himself as "more or less as representing the Peace Pledge Union." Pacifism, he said, was not a negative thing, but a positive affirmation; war must be treated like any other disease; they must get down to the root cause.

"If it is true—and I do not admit it," he went on, "that the dictator countries will not come to a conference, let those who will meet in conference. Let Great Britain make a start by saying to the world, 'We are ready to pay as big a price for peace as we are for war.' You must be willing to pay the price of peace."

"This thing you call empire has reached its zenith. It must now either crash in ruins or be transformed into international cooperation."

"Some say we are unpatriotic. I stand here an unrepentant pacifist because I love my country (loud applause); because I know there is a way out."

"As I grow older I am more than ever convinced that this world has got to have a complete change of mind; it has got to

## WORLD CONFERENCE AND DISARMAMENT

### Basis for a New Foreign Policy

A POLICY on the lines of that envisaged in the National Petition campaign for a world peace conference was outlined by Dr. C. E. M. Joad in an interview given to *Peace News*.

"In the present emergency," he said, "I would pursue more intensively the policy of the peace conference designed to remove the causes of war. These are economic and psychological; the psychological are by-products of the economic."

"The economic causes arise in a world which is economically a unity cut across by the would-be self-sufficient national States, with their tariffs, currency restrictions, quotas, customs, and all the rest of it. I would seek to remove these restrictions and make the world a free trading area.

"To meet the second main economic cause—the maldistribution of colonies and undeveloped territories—I would propose an international commission on an extended Mandates system to take over all the colonies and undeveloped territories; not only ex-German ones, but our own and the French. I would see that the Germans were represented on it."

Dealing with the question of disarmament, Dr. Joad said: "It is no good just advocating disarmament and trusting to a relaxation of economic tension to produce it by changing the atmosphere. Somebody must begin. I would begin. I would make the gesture."



DR. JOAD

### Text of the Petition

WE, the undersigned, believing that permanent peace cannot be secured by competitive armaments, through sacrifices imposed upon small nations, or by exclusive arrangements between groups of major Powers, but only through a more fundamental and general settlement, urge the necessity for the holding of a NEW PEACE CONFERENCE open to all nations and directed toward remedying the economic and political conditions likely to lead to war; and pray His Majesty's Government to take, in consultation with the President of the United States of America, the necessary steps to secure the holding of such a conference, after adequate preparation, and to offer the fullest collaboration of this country in bringing the negotiations to a successful issue.

★

The following are some of the prominent signatories:

Cardinal MacRory (Catholic Primate of All Ireland), Bishop of Chelmsford, Dean Inge, Dr. James Black (Moderator of the Church of Scotland), Dr. Hertz (the Chief Rabbi), Rev. Leslie Weatherhead, Lord Mayor of Newcastle, Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Harold Bellman; Sir Fred Hayward (Chairman, Co-operative Union), J. Hallsworth (Secretary, National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers), Sir John Martin Harvey, Dame Marie Tempest, G. Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells;

Dr. W. D. Ross (Provost of Oriel), Miss H. M. Wodehouse (Principal of Girton College, Cambridge), Hugh Lyon (Rugby School), Dr. T. K. Derry (Mill Hill School), Miss M. E. Popham (Cheltenham Ladies' College), Henry Cotton (Open Golf Champion), George Allison (Manager, Arsenal Football Club), Jack Hobbs, Major G. Lloyd George, M.P., Sir Stafford Cripps, M.P.;

Lord Hereford, Lord Merton, George Lansbury, M.P., Viscountess Samuel, Sir Geoffrey Northcote (Governor of Hong Kong), and Lord Snell.

## PACIFISTS IN POLITICS

### Case for a Separate Party

"IF pacifism should fail to find expression in politics it will very largely stultify itself," said the Rev. H. Inglis James, chairman of the Christian Pacifist Party, at a meeting held in Friends House, London, last week. He added that war itself, which pacifists were trying to stop, was a political phenomenon.

Many pacifists, he pointed out, took part in political action, but not as pacifists; in the ballot box and on the platform they actually supported non-pacifist policies.

#### LABOUR AND PACIFISM

Reviewing the position of the Labour Party, Mr. James recalled that it used to be against imperialism and war.

It had now substituted for its former economic interpretation of history the theory that wars were caused by wicked individuals, and adopted the slogan "against fascism and war." On the colonial question, a highly important one today, Labour Party leaders had had nothing constructive to offer for a long time past.

Even if one voted for one of the few pacifist Labour candidates, one was voting for the official policy of the party, which was not pacifist. If pacifists supported non-pacifist Labour candidates, and a war came which they had thereby helped to prepare, how could they stand aside and say "No," asked Mr. James.

#### A NEW PARTY

Turning to the case for a pacifist political party, Mr. James said its first job was to bear witness to the conditions to be fulfilled by our own nation in particular if the world was to find the way to peace. Its ultimate objective would be the removal of all things which gave rise to fratricidal strife in our social life.

Those who argued that such a change had to come one day, but that in the meantime pacifists should ally themselves with the Labour Party, were using the same argument brought against Keir Hardie and the other pioneers of the Labour Party. It was sometimes said that people were not ready for a pacifist political party. "How," he asked, "will people be made ready unless we go out as an organized body and give them a chance to hear the case and get ready for it?"

#### PARLIAMENT AS PLATFORM

The House of Commons was the best platform in the land. Even a small group of MPs could make its voice heard and, if war came, its presence would be some guarantee that the case for peace would not be forgotten.

Mr. W. L. Williams, General Secretary of the Christian Pacifist Party, who spoke of the party's activities, said that he thought many people still stayed in the Labour Party because of its socialist "label." "The label might be the right one," he said, "but the stuff inside the bottle is rank poison."

#### GUNS AND BUTTER

To those who said that the domestic policy of the Labour Party was progressive, he replied that domestic policy was very largely determined by foreign policy. If we made more guns, we could make less butter.

At by-elections in recent years the pacifist case had gone by default. The Christian Pacifist Party wanted to remedy that. It would be a good thing for the cause of peace if Labour candidates could be challenged at elections to say what their policy really meant; what was really involved, for example, in "being firm" with the dictators.

### Pacifist Convention in Cardiff

The next convention organized by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group will be held in the Wood Street Congregational Church, Cardiff, on Saturday, April 1.

Two sessions will be held at 2.30 and 7 p.m. They will be addressed by James H. Hudson (chairman), Mr. George Lansbury, Lord Arnold, Mrs. Eleanor Barton, Rev. Albert Dring, Rev. Myrddin Davies, Rev. R. T. Jones, Rev. Ceulanydd Jones and Mr. Frank Hancock.

### Cliveden Goes Cannibal

We must protect the fishermen—we shall want them for food in the next war.

—Lady Astor, quoted in *Empire*.

**BOOKS**

# Germany's Rulers

By WILFRED WELLOCK

**Hermann Goering.** By Erich Gritzbach. Hurst and Blackett, 8s. 6d.**Germany's Hitler.** By Heinz A. Heinz. Hurst and Blackett, 5s.

**W**HITHER Nazi Germany? We do not know, and it is most difficult to find out. Yet it is important that we should know, since whether we agree with what Germany is doing or not, she is forging instruments and pursuing policies which may have far-reaching and unforeseen effects, both at home and internationally.

Modern dictatorships, with their unexampled repressions, their press barrages, sealed lips, and sealed frontiers, are almost impenetrable to the most determined inquirer. Even books are suspect, since they are mostly either the outpourings of fanatic followers of the dictators or the vituperations of inveterate enemies of the new régimes. Visits prove abortive: one flounders in the no-man's-land between voluminous officials and the silence of the people.

From the two books under review I have gathered a little grain, and it may be that further sifting will yield a little more. Both books are sketches rather than biographies. The first seeks to reveal the character and qualities of the man upon whom has devolved the main burden of working out the Nazi ideology, and something of the nature and magnitude of the tasks involved. The more important chapters deal with these tasks. The book is thus rather a series of sketches than a detailed biography.

The second book seeks to draw in very simple outline the main course of Hitler's life to the present day—to the capture of the Sudetenland, in fact. The author has hunted out the people who have been closely associated with Hitler during the greater part of his adult life, such as his old landlady in Munich, his warder in the Landsberg prison, his army pals, and in particular his associates in the early struggles to found what later became the National Socialist Party. One feels that both the writer and the "witnesses" are trying to be fair, but that the effect of Hitler's personality and triumph has possibly been to idealize the past.

**Almost Gods**

IT is obvious that both authors are devotees of men whom they believe to be only a little less than gods. Herr Gritzbach turns over the name of his hero as if it were the sweetest of morsels. Some of his passages are fulsome to nauseation; one just has to skip them.

Despite these obvious weaknesses, several things emerge: first, that these two men have captured the imagination and the affections of many millions of people, have performed miracles of reconstruction in the social, economic, and financial spheres, and are endeavouring to subserve the minds and wills of 78,000,000 people to the ideology conceived and worked out by one man; second, that the architect of Nazi Germany is Hitler, whose habits are more those of a recluse and dreamer than a ruler; third, that Goering is essentially a man of action, who possesses enormous dynamic power, but who is wholly dependent upon Hitler, whom he almost worships, for guidance and inspiration, and fourth, that something is emerging in Germany which demands careful examination.

**Hitler's Plan**

THESE two books reveal the folly of accepting the "Mad Hatter" conception of Hitler or of Goering. The more one studies Hitler the more one comes up against a pulsating, well-thought-out purpose, a plan that is being worked out with amazing precision.

Hitler is an ascetic. Poverty has been his lot over the greater part of his life. Now frugality is his choice. His sufferings have synchronized with the sufferings of his country. He is a son of the working classes, and has lived a hard and lonely life. Meditation has been his chief occupation. Early orphaned, he has lived quite on his own since the age of eighteen.

**A**S the years rolled by, the regeneration of Germany occupied his thoughts increasingly. His chief associates in working out this problem were mostly working men. He has never hobnobbed with the rich, and has always refused to be bought with their favours. He hates ostentation, feasting, and has a natural repugnance for with whose members he rarely associates. And it is highly significant that on all important occasions, when great issues are at stake, he invariably retires to his home in the Bavarian mountains, where he works out all his plans, and where he appears best able to come to himself and to reach important decisions.

**Germany's Sole Architect**

**H**ERR GRITZBACH informs us that Hitler personally worked out all the details of the Four Year Plan, while the impression left by these two books is that Hitler is the sole architect of Nazi Germany.

Goering's biographer conveys the impression that Hitler has no more sincere devotee than Goering, who has sworn time and again to follow his master to the last. Goering possesses no ideology other than that given to him by Hitler. His belief in Hitler is unbound and he demands a like trust in the Fuehrer of everyone else. Here are his words:

"Fair criticism is always good, but criticism must draw the line at the great vital problems of the nation which the Fuehrer alone controls. All criticism must be silent in the presence of our Fuehrer, Adolf Hitler. When the Fuehrer calls and gives us a command, every one of us must unconditionally follow him and obey him, whosoever he may be. With the Fuehrer we are everything, without him we are nothing."

**I**N that passage we have the essence of Nazism, and such soul as it possesses. That soul it is sought to embody in an entity called Germany, in whose unity, strength and glory the German of today is asked to find his greatest satisfaction and asked to do today under rearment, ARP, national registration, and the more ominous things we shall be asked to do later on.

On the day in which Hitler came to power, Goering proclaimed:

"And so we can now venture to hope that the future will bring us what we fought for in vain for a long time—bread and work for our fellow men, and freedom and glory for the nation."

Later he said that both Fascism and Nazism imply the longing for a form of discipline consisting of voluntary submission which is alone capable of inspiring a spirit of devotion to the system of a strong authoritarian State.

And should the "submission" be lacking, its emergence is assisted by a process of "education" in a concentration camp.

Incidentally, these two men claim to be acting with extreme ruthlessness toward the anti-social elements in capitalism, and certainly they are throwing over like ninepins the economic "laws" of capitalism to the great consternation of most capitalists. But even if we may assume that all these economic changes are for the best, the real challenge to this age is that under authoritarianism, the objectives and the methods of reaching them, are determined by one man, before whom scores of millions of people must bow in reverence and obedience, at their peril.

And such a condition threatens to become universal!

## To Make More "Peace News" Readers

**A** USEFUL way of increasing the influence of *Peace News* is suggested by the leader of the Barking branch of the Peace Pledge Union, who reports that the paper is now taken regularly by the Staff Reading Club at the Eastern District Post Office, used by some 300 men.

He suggests that PPU members throughout the country who are in Government Departments have similar opportunities of advertising the paper, and adds: "All that is needed is for the PPU member to get a number of his colleagues to sign a paper asking that *Peace News* shall be bought; provided sufficient signatures are forthcoming there is usually no difficulty."

## Racial Problems in South Africa

**Racial Problems in South Africa.** Society of Friends. 6d.

The Society of Friends in England and America sent a deputation of four Quakers to South Africa last year to investigate and report.

The report is a balanced essay on the subjection of the African natives to Europeans, but says that their "sympathies go out to institutions and individuals, public and private, that seek to adapt laws to the needs of the disadvantaged as well as to the more fortunate.... Betterment in the lot of the native will come from a fuller understanding of the oneness of interest of all the people and from an awakening of the moral conscience of the nations as a whole." J.P.F.

**Pacifism in 1938**

Mr. H. W. Peet, Editor of *The Friend*, will prepare the section on "Pacifism in 1938" for the survey of current world affairs which is to be published under the auspices of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* at the beginning of April. Mr. Peet, who was 53 on Saturday, was a noted conscientious objector during the War.

The *Britannica Book of the Year*, 1939, as the new volume will be entitled, will run into 750,000 words and will take the form of a complete review of political, economic and scientific affairs during 1938, to which 250 authorities of international repute from all over the world are contributing.

**All in a Maze****FATHERS AND SONS**

NO one is so senseless as to choose of his own will war rather than peace, since in peace the sons bury their fathers, but in war the fathers bury their sons. But it was pleasing, I suppose, to divine powers that these things should come to pass thus.

Herodotus. *History*, c. B.C. 430.

The above is an extract from the Peace and War anthology "All in a Maze," by Daniel George, with some assistance from Rose Macaulay. It is published by Collins, 6s. net.

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ANDREW STEWART

"SPEAKING PERSONALLY"

# PACIFISM and the PEACE PLEDGE UNION—2

**I**N three weeks time we shall be gathering for our second annual general meeting, and that horrible word organization will appear on the agenda in one form or another.

With a clear memory of last year's proceedings I express the hope that this year we will show that we have learned from experience, have done our thinking beforehand, have made up our minds what we want, and will cut the cackle to the limit and decide with the greatest possible expedition between the various choices offered to us in motions or amendments. For I very well remember the dismay with which I watched last year the valuable time passing as we discussed the question of a Constitution.

I must confess that I occupied a minute or two myself, but since the burden of my remarks was to throw the whole thing overboard the weight on my conscience is comparatively light.

I am one of those who believe that if folk want to do certain things strongly enough they will waste little time in discussing the way in which they are going to do them. If their intentions are vicious, all their advance speculations on methods will hardly avail them of a virtuous method of realizing them. Conversely, if their ideals are lofty, and their determination resolute, they will experience not the slightest difficulty in "organizing" their energies and keeping on the straight road to their goal.

**I**T follows that we must have a very definite idea of what we want to achieve before we can set about doing it. I believe that many of our perplexities as to the nature of our organization arise from differences of conception with regard to our essential purpose.

Well, speaking personally, I have no doubt in my mind at all as to why I joined the Peace Pledge Union and as to what I think it ought to aim at.

I joined the Peace Pledge Union because my head and my heart revolted from war: from its inhumanity, its waste, its lies, its demonstrable futility. And I realized that wars will only end when men simply refuse to fight, and that in our time, for the first time in all the course of human history, ordinary folk have it within their power to make an end of war.

Modern war is totalitarian. Every man, woman and child is in the firing line. No longer is the murder delegated to mercenaries, with the assistance of those who can be induced by propaganda to join them voluntarily, or be dragooned into doing so. Modern war is nothing less than the suicidal impact of whole populations. The cooperation of all, or at least the vast majority, is demanded. It follows that the defection, the contracting-out, of a substantial part of a population renders war for that nation impossible under modern conditions.

## If War Comes

I want to prevent the next war, because that war, fought with all the new and inestimably destructive weapons now at our disposal, will mean the end of those hopes of human progress that make life worth living for me. I became a member of the Peace Pledge Union to find the fellowship I needed in my work to that end, and I shall always judge our movement by its success or failure accordingly.

If there is another war in our time the Peace Pledge Union will have failed. Pacifism will not have failed, in the sense of having been weighed in the balance and found wanting; but I shall consider that I have failed, and along with me all those who joined the Peace Pledge Union with a similar purpose. Another war will indicate that, however hard we have worked we haven't worked hard enough. We shall have failed collectively because we failed individually.

This seems to me to be all that can be said about organization: we need just so much of it as enables us individually to do the work that has to be done. Individual inadequacies cannot be visited upon the movement as a whole, though the sins of inadequacy will certainly be visited on many generations to come.

I DO not propose to attempt to describe in detail the sort of organization I should like to see developing.

Sufficient be it for the moment to say that no organization could be too loose for me, and that efficient headquarters and regional staffs—to encourage and coordinate the work of individuals and groups—seem to me to be the only organizational equipment we need encumber ourselves with. And since this whole business of constitutions, führers, Sponsors' decisions, provincial representation, and the like is rather outside the orbit of my interest and knowledge I shall look at the annual

**T**HIS is the second of two articles by Andrew Stewart, the nineteenth contributor to the series "Speaking Personally." Next week MAURICE L. ROWNTREE will write under this heading.

general meeting for the loosest organization on offer.

I have a horror of organizations. I feel that they stifle that essential spirit without which no movement can have any real existence. And I have never found anywhere this sentiment better expressed than by Havelock Ellis in, I think, his essay on *The Art of Religion*.

I quote from memory:

"Every religion begins, or so it seems, as the reflection of the divine flame of a lovely human personality. A church is formed, the flame dies, and we are left with a mass of charred cinders from which we can derive neither heat nor light."

This is as true of revolutionary movements as of religions. As religions become churches, so do movements become parties. Evangelists of the new order become

exhausted in the arduous and thankless task of patching up the deficiencies in the old.

## P.P.U. and the I.L.P.

The parlous condition of the Labour Party is due essentially to the almost total extinction of Socialist propagandists of the type that made the ILP. Indeed, I believe that the mantle of the early socialists has fallen upon the Peace Pledge Union, and I know that I for one am striving for the ending of war simply as a first and necessary step toward the new sort of society that they envisaged.

I cannot, of course, commit other members of the Peace Pledge Union to this

**"Speaking Personally"** is a forum for the expression of individual views, which must not be taken as necessarily representing those of the Peace Pledge Union or of "Peace News."

point of view, but I hope I shall succeed in convincing all of them that I meet that this is the sort of thing they should have in mind too. If I do not, it will be no great matter so long as we succeed in our common object; for if war is for ever banished poverty will not be long in going too. And if we have disposed of war and poverty the things I hope to come will rapidly take shape.

**T**O this end I have no faith in what might be called for convenience "the party method." I do not see the need for a new political party, because I feel that the present

political parties satisfy the public requirements. If they didn't they wouldn't be in existence.

Our job is to arouse the people to making quite new demands, which the present type of political party may or may not be able to satisfy. If they fail to meet the new public demand, then they will surely perish, to make way for more efficient instruments.

Folk get the parties, governments and churches they deserve. Institutions are not only communally created: they are pretty reliable mirrors of their constituent elements. If you want to change the institutions you've got to change the ingredients.

## No Harmony Through Manipulation of Power

A point in illustration. Members of the Labour Party who possess unorthodox doctrines are always complaining that "the party machine" denies them justice. "The block vote" of the reactionary trade unions suppresses them. They urge in remedy a revision of the voting system. But they never think about trying to convert the reactionaries to their point of view as the most sensible and quickest way.

The idea that harmony can be achieved in any community by the manipulation of power is surely illusory. Those of us who seek the ending of war must realize that our task is nothing more or less than the persuasion of our fellows in the mass that war is wrong, or far too costly, or inhuman, or futile, or all combined, to such an extent of conviction that they will renounce it utterly and turn their minds to other ways of settling international differences.

To do this we must get out into the highways and byways with our message, broadcasting it from the platform and the printing press and in our daily conversations. No formal constitution, no imposing Board of Sponsors, will enspire us in this task if we lack conviction of its importance and its urgency.

Which seems to me to be all that we need to succeed.

# Whether War Comes or Not We Still Need Pacifists says William E. Minty

IT is difficult to be always enthusiastic about a cause which makes slow progress, and when even that progress is (as Hegel described it) along a zig-zag path. Yet we must be enthusiastic, or die out. "No cause," someone has said, "is won that is not enthusiastic, no virtue safe that is not passionate."

There is nothing like singleness of aim to make a body of people enthusiastic, and Dick Sheppard gave us that when he instituted the Peace Pledge Union. "I renounce war, and I will never support or sanction another." Out of that pledge arise many obligations, in fact, a whole, new philosophy of life; the pledge is not the end, but only the beginning.

It is, however, downright, wholehearted, direct and straightforward. It is an answering of "the moral law within," and as such, nothing can gainsay it. That is its strength. That is why we should trust it, even when Spain and Czechoslovakia appear as big question-marks across the sky.

**A**RE we to believe that, a year from now, Europe will not be in the throes of a major conflict of such a nature as to smash civilization? I do not believe such a war to be inevitable in the absolute sense of that word.

Just as (to quote a Quaker divine) "it is natural for man to have a supernatural light"—I have already referred to that light in the language of Emanuel Kant as "the moral law within"—so it is natural for unlooked-for factors and unguessed to appear on the political horizon, suddenly and—using the word in its common sense—super-naturally. Viewed in this way, war is by no means inevitable.

When we come to ask whether our witness is worth while, the answer—I feel sure—does not depend upon whether a major European war is averted this year or next, or even in our lifetime. So much

the better if it is. But whether or not, our stand is just as essential.

When men obey "the moral law within" they ally themselves with the ultimate good of the universe. If they disobey it, they weaken the forces that would ultimately save the world. The more desperate the forces on the other side, the more desperately needed are these forces for good. It is just then that no half-way house can serve. Nor could it evoke the enthusiasm necessary to carry on the cause.

**W**HAT, then, can we do as Peace Pledgers in view of this stupendous problem, set on a world stage? I think we should be frank and realist, and confess that we aren't going to prevent the great catastrophe from happening by persuading the world to accept our programme, even if we have one.

Are we, then, to give up believing in it or preaching it? Not at all. Is the preservation of peace impossible because we are impotent? I believe it is by no means impossible; because, as I have said, unknown factors are at work in God's universe when we least suspect them.

We cannot, as members of the PPU, solve the big world-problems; for our solution, if we have one, is not worldly-wise. That is not our job, though it may be our job to try to understand world problems. We can, however, help one another in facing the perplexities with which we are confronted as militarism descends more and more upon us. That is where our groups and the whole PPU fellowship come in.

But we can do more than that. For, after all, the primary reason for our existence is not mutual help, but a crusade against what John Bright called "the greatest of all human calamities"—a

crusade against war. We are in that crusade, win or lose, and we must go on with it, having *ultimate* victory as our goal, not necessarily—though possibly—in our lifetime.

Since we cannot contemplate taking half-measures because, as we learn even from Hitler, "the psyche of the masses is not receptive of such," is there any course open to us other than the rejection of all militarism?

No, our witness must go on, even though the forces arrayed against us are legion. That is our simple faith, that may be our work in the world, to testify to the invincibility of Peace. We are needed, to beckon to like-minded people across every frontier, as living witnesses against the absolute inevitability of war: to say to a world going mad: "War is not according to the divine nature of man."

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on

SUNDAY, APRIL 2nd, at 3.15 p.m.

Madame PHILIPSKY, Coloratura Soprano from the Opera House, Vienna.

Herr M. YAHUDA, formerly Kapellmeister of the Opera House, Graz.

Mademoiselle KALDECK, from the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

Admission Free. Collection for Refugee Funds.

MURIEL LISTER will speak in the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Thomas Street, Oxford Street, W.1, after tea, this same afternoon on her recent visit to India.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN will give a Dramatic Reading from his plays at the Club on Friday, March 31st, at 7.30 p.m.

The above engagements are open to non-members.

## JOHN BARCLAY writes from Room 13: A WELSH INTERLUDE

AS every day sees the map of Europe changing its shape and the rush and hurry of daily life becoming more intense, it is good for a moment to be able to gaze on Snowdon and the Welsh hills. Hitler cannot change them and whatever happens to us or him, they will always be the same when we are dead and forgotten.

I have been refreshed also by this fresh contact with the Welsh pacifists. A year ago I went to the annual general meeting of the North Wales Area groups, and for some reason (only known to themselves) I was invited to this year's gathering.

Before reaching Bangor on the Saturday, however, I broke my journey at Colwyn Bay. On Thursday night I was taken to Abergel where a new group is being formed. It was a cold night and the hall we met in was cold too, but the meeting was a splendid one. Twenty-two copies of *Peace News* were sold and many new members joined us. This group is going to start off with a real splash.

### The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

Friday morning I spent informally meeting six of the pacifist ministers in Old Colwyn. If the churches could be led by such men there would be nothing to fear. Sanity would soon return to the world, and the law of the jungle would be superseded. Meetings in the afternoon and evening kept me out of mischief till midnight, and I only regretted one thing—Friday was Andrew Stewart's wedding day and I had to miss it!

The conference at Bangor on Saturday brought together 64 members representing the groups in North Wales from Aberystwyth in the West to Wrexham in the East. With the Rev. J. B. Davis in the chair, things were bound to go well and the spirit of the PPU permeated us all.

Richard Bishop made a moving appeal at the end and reported that the number of groups in Wales had doubled during the year. Wales is rising to the occasion and is an inspiration in these dark days (perhaps the sun will rise over the Welsh hills as so often fore-told by Lloyd George).

Sunday was another full day. I met a group of students from Bangor University

## The Notice Board

Items must be received by MONDAY.

### Meetings

**Kingston and Surbiton** group now has a pitch in Kingston Market Place for open-air meetings on Sunday evenings at 7.45 p.m. *Peace News* sellers wanted.

**Liverpool**.—Peace Group will meet Mondays at 7.30 p.m. in Friends' Meeting House, Hunter Street.

**Westminster group**.—From March 23 this group will meet on Thursdays at 8 p.m. instead of Wednesday as formerly. The meeting place will be the Baptist Church, Horseferry Road.

**Brixham** group meets in the Social Service Centre, Cavern Road, on first and third Sundays in the month, at 3 p.m.

### Poster Parades

**Camberwell**.—Volunteers wanted March 25, 27, 28 and 29. Meet Wren Road, 6.45 p.m., or ring L. Hislam: Rodney 4651.

Come along to the parade to advertise opening of new **Peace Centre** at 10 Holloway Road, London, N.7, tomorrow (Saturday) at 2.30 p.m.

**Richmond**.—Saturday, March 25. Write G. D. Piper, 97 Sandycome Road, Richmond, Surrey.

### "Peace News" Sellers Wanted

**Gravesend**.—New Road every Friday from 6.30 to 8 p.m. Write Donald Port, 143, Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

**Richmond**.—April 8 and 15. Write G. D. Piper, 97 Sandycome Road, Richmond, Surrey.

**Putney**.—Tomorrow (Saturday), at 6.30 p.m. Meet at Putney Station (Southern Railway).

**Sparkhill and Sparkbrook**.—Members here wish to maintain six selling posts every Friday (5.30 to 8 p.m.). Write Ronald A. King, 370 Scarhole Road, Hall Green, Birmingham, 28.

**Birmingham**.—Further volunteers wanted for street selling every Friday (4.30 to 8.30 p.m.) for hour or more. Write Wilfred S. Burt, 22 Hemmings Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

**Kings Heath**.—Selling in this district has commenced. More sellers are required between 2.30 and 5 p.m. on Saturdays. Write A. G. Sparkes, 40, Station Road, King's Norton, Birmingham, 30.

### Miscellaneous

**Liverpool**.—Anyone in this district desiring peace literature, posters, leaflets, &c., is invited to call on Mondays or inquire from M. Muriel Shearer, 44 Oxford Road, Bootle, Liverpool, 20.

**Midlands**.—If you want your meeting reported write to *Peace News* Reporter Midland Area—Michael G. Thomas, 160 Reddings Lane, Hall Green, Birmingham 11.

**Islington**.—Volunteers wanted to cooperate in editing group monthly and assist in clerical work. Write L. Griffiths, 10 Holloway Road, London, N.1.

in the morning; in the afternoon I was driven over to Portmadoc to a crowded meeting at 4.30—and let me tell those who do not know that 120 Welsh people singing is worth going 100 miles to hear—and in the evening we had a meeting in Caernarvon. This group has been inspired by the visits of George Lansbury and Stuart Morris, and will make a big impact on the jelly of public opinion.

During the last three months they have collected 1,200 signatures to the Peace petition from a total population of 8,000, which shows that they have power, especially when you remember that Caernarvon is not a progressive town but is well grounded in the Church-and-State tradition.

Prophets are not listened to in their own country, but I do not yet see signs of civilization going down the drain!

**German Letter Scheme**.—This is at present held up owing to the international situation.

**P.P.U. MEMBERS**  
book July 29 to August 8 for Summer  
Camp at Pannal Ash College, near  
Harrogate.  
Full particulars next week.

## P.P.U. in Ireland

A big feature of the visit to Ireland this week-end by Canon Stuart Morris and John Barclay (see John Barclay's notes last week), will be a public meeting on the Monday (March 27) in the Friends' Meeting House, Belfast, at 8 p.m., at which they will both speak. This meeting will be preceded by the annual general meeting of Peace Pledge Union members at 7 p.m.

On the Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday John Barclay will address meetings in Londonderry, Belfast and Bangor where he hopes to establish PPU groups.

## Streatham Dramatic Performance

The 20th Century Players, a group of actors from the Croydon district, will present the American drama *The Enemy*, by Channing Pollock in the Streatham Hall, High Road, Streatham, next Friday (March 31), at 8 p.m.

Tickets (reserved seats, 2s 6d, unreserved, 1s 6d) are obtainable from Miss E. C. Massey, 34 Streatham Common, North Side; Mrs. B. Honour, Rosemary, Isham Road, Norbury; Mrs. Every, Brynford, Dunheved Road North, Thornton Heath; or from the National Theatre Appeal Committee, 50 Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

**What the Groups are Doing**

**Dr. MAUDE ROYDEN** was the chief speaker at a meeting in Runcorn last week, organized by the local group and presided over by Councillor C. E. Brooker, chairman of the Runcorn Council.

Speaking on "Can Christianity Challenge other Faiths?" Dr. Royden pointed out that every problem of human suffering had a solution and Christians, at any rate, should endeavour to find it. "I love my country better than any other," was the patriotic way. So did Germans and Japanese, and we should try to realize the fact and sympathize. What sacrifices were we prepared to make? she asked. As Christians we should face the issue. An international conference should be called soon.

**What does PPU stand for?**

## I. HOW IT BEGAN

THE Peace Pledge Union dates from the day when Dick Sheppard invited all men who felt as he did to write to him stating that they renounced war and would never again participate in one.

The immediate response was overwhelming, and every day since then pledge cards have come in, the total having now reached some 123,000. At first the movement had been confined to men, but when the signatures of women were asked for there was once more an immediate response. By reason of its numerical and moral strength, this venture has become a national movement, and it is linked with the world movement by its affiliation to the War Resisters' International.

Dick Sheppard asked some leading men and women to join him as Sponsors. Practically all of them were subsequently elected at the movement's first Annual General Meeting, and today the Sponsors are: George Lansbury, M.P., Canon Stuart Morris, Maurice L. Rountree, John Barclay, Harold F. Bing, Miss Vera Brittain, H. Runham Brown, the Rev. Henry Carter, Miss Mary Gamble, Dr. A. Herbert Gray, Laurence Housman, James H. Hudson, Aldous Huxley, Miss Storm Jameson, J. Middleton Murry, Humphrey S. Moore, Capt. Philip Mumford, Max Plowman, Lord Ponsonby, Canon C. E. Raven, Bertrand Russell, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., Siegfried Sassoon, Dr. Donald O. Soper, Miss E. Thorneycroft, Wilfred Wellok, Dr. Alex Wood, and Arthur Wragg.

The headquarters are at 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. The President is George Lansbury, M.P., the Treasurer, Maurice L. Rountree, the Chairman (and secretary), Canon Stuart Morris, and the Group Organizer, John Barclay.

Give your pledge on a postcard:  
I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.  
Sign this, add your address, and send the card to PPU headquarters

## Under the Oak Tree

## Nightmares from the Past

By THEO WILLS

AT moments when the children are looking particularly bright, healthy and cheerful; so undeniably "all there" both spiritually and physically, the imagination flashes back to the horrors from which they have been saved with a shock which is all the greater because for a time, lulled by the naturalness and domesticity of the Basque House daily round, one had almost forgotten them.

Those days, one of the Señoritas said, have now something of the unreality of an unpleasant dream. That they were singularly real is proved at unexpected moments. While we were in Manchester one of the new air-raid sirens, which fortunately are out of earshot at Basque House, suddenly set up a practice howl. The same Señorita, who had been talking quietly, started from her chair with a gasp and a blanching of the face.

When our own grisly bombers have gone sliding across the sky we have heard children say: "Don't look! Don't look! I don't want to see them!"

With the passage of time, however, and the reassurance which security and love have given, the frame of mind of children and staff is such that we are no longer afraid of broaching the topic of their experiences to them. We learn grim things, of which, in one sense, some of the grimmest and most pathetic are perhaps those which can be classed as "humorous" features of the raids.

The very hens clucked querulously and eyed the sky. The dogs were among the first to dash for the refugees. There was the case of the woman who, in her panic, forgot the way out of her own house, and tried frantically to escape through the door of a clothes cupboard in the vestibule.

As a contrast to this, picture a gang of some twenty of our children going off along an Essex lane, larking and mixing with a similar gang of English children, all on their way together to the local village school for the day's lessons!

This series, "Under the Oak Tree," is a weekly reminder of the Basque Children who are our protégés at Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex. All gifts in kind should be sent there.

Donations, in cash or by cheque, should be sent to the Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. They will be most gratefully acknowledged.

THE following resolution, which has been sent to Sir John Anderson, was passed at a recent meeting of the Harrow group:

"Believing that the appeal for National Service is an appeal to prepare for war and is creating a war mentality which will lead to war, this meeting of the Harrow group of the Peace Pledge Union cannot respond to such an appeal. It is the considered opinion of this meeting that only by a plan of international service can peace be secured, and in such a plan members of this group would gladly cooperate."

## Active Smethwick Group

AT a recent meeting of members in Smethwick, addressed by Sidney Conbeer and Tramp Preacher Alfred Opie, with the Rev. Henry Lennard in the chair, an active nucleus was formed. Eric Sandford and Joan Allport were elected group secretary and treasurer respectively.

Efforts will now be made to form a *Peace News* street-selling corps.

## Loughborough Peace Stall

DURING the last two months the Loughborough group, in conjunction with the local branch of the FOR, has been running a stall in the Market Place, which has met with considerable success.

A series of open-air meetings will be organized in adjacent villages by this group in the summer in conjunction with Coalville PPU.

**Lively Handsworth Meeting**

THE "International Situation and World Peace" was the subject of a meeting held in Handsworth last Sunday. The meeting was addressed by Sydney Conbeer and Tom Reed, and a lively discussion followed.

Mr. Harley Millechap, who was in the chair, urged the need for some immediate settlement of the present world grievances and disputes.

## Selling in Sparkhill

SIX people turned up for *Peace News* selling in Sparkhill last Friday, and despite the cold weather, met with very satisfactory results. Eighteen copies were sold altogether, and for a first attempt this is very encouraging. King's Heath are also in the early stages of street selling and although their sales are not so high, hope for increase is held.

## Kilmarnock Members Entertain

SEVEN members of the Kilmarnock group entertained seven unemployed men to lunch at a local restaurant last week, as a gesture of friendship and sympathy.

They were a very representative little party—the hosts included a minister, an optician, a schoolmaster, two clerks and two housewives, while among the guests were ex-Servicemen, fathers of families, and members of the NUWM.

## MEETING FOR PACIFISTS

The Peace Pledge Union has decided to hold

## AN INFORMAL MEETING AT THE KINGSWAY HALL, LONDON, W.C.1, ON WEDNESDAY NEXT, MARCH 29,

at 8 p.m.

for members to meet George Lansbury, Donald Soper, Stuart Morris, and others. The gathering will be joined by other pacifists from the Christian Pacifist Groups, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Society of Friends. The purpose of the meeting is to provide an opportunity for mutual consultation and encouragement in the present situation; it is not to be a demonstration.

Please bring this to the notice of all members of the PPU whom you can reach.



## George Lansbury on the Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

very crudely. I feel a tremendous responsibility is upon all who speak and seek to guide opinion on this subject of war. My mind is clear and definite. I have never been able to support war and the taking of life. War and judicial murder are in my opinion blasphemy against God and man.

### Where Pledge May Lead

So there has been no problem for me, though doubts have often arisen. Now I am old the problem will not be presented to me as it is to you who are young. I want you to understand where the Peace Pledge may lead you, and if, after proper thought and consideration, you are sure of your ground then stick to it to the end.

Millions of men and women will give themselves cheerfully and sincerely to the work of war, believing they too are serving God or the nation. Millions will suffer and die. We who refuse to take part in the killing are no less sincere, and we can only show our sincerity by doing our utmost to stand together and bear each others' burdens so far as this is humanly possible.

I repeat, though, the decision is a personal one and every member of the Peace Pledge Union must decide which road he will take. Many voices will call us this way or that. The one certain fact is another Great War will end in universal disaster creating more and more problems for mankind to settle.

### "This Ignoble Pact"

It may be, comrades, this rather ignoble pact will stay the oncoming of war. If it does not never give way to despair. Don't try to cross any bridges of difficulty till you reach them.

Peace is more inevitable than war because the common people in all lands want peace, and who knows perhaps our propaganda for a peace conference will soon bear fruit and we shall win collective security through a policy based on cooperation and sharing. Anyhow, comrades, keep on keeping on with the work of propaganda.

## A Pacifist Commentary

# Democratic Alliance—For What? Precedents for Hitler

HOWEVER the rapidly moving situation may develop, one thing that is plain is that the policy of "appeasement" has given place to a form of collective security. This must inevitably suffer from being both belated and limited in character, but it will suffer most of all if it is a hastily gathered together military alliance.

On the other hand, though it is undoubtedly intended to serve military ends, it is not absolutely inconceivable that it might leave the way open for a joint approach by the countries now engaged in consultations to Germany for the building-up of a just peace. It is upon the consultations that the future now depends.

Meanwhile the actual danger of war is affected by such considerations as Germany's next move in South-East Europe, the British Government's attitude to it, and the impression which this country's attitude has undoubtedly made upon Italy.

A blunder from its own point of view would seem to have been made by the British Government in broadcasting its desire for a defence pact. The smaller States have been frightened by the open announcement, and do not wish openly to join such an alliance, for fear of Germany. The only country prepared to join in such a pact openly is Turkey.

At the same time the smaller States are afraid of Russia; King Carol, for instance, would have reason to fear the "bolshevization" of his forces in the event of an alliance with the USSR.

The British Government is believed to be secretly using its financial power to make the smaller States toe the line, but it is quite possible that Hungary and Rumania may throw in their lot with Germany.

It should be noted that the so-called democratic "line-up" would not include the Scandinavian Powers, but would include several countries under virtual dictatorships in South-Eastern Europe.

### Hitler Copies Us

AS to Germany's action that has shocked the world, Hitler has undoubtedly done wrong.

It was as wrong for him to disarm Mr. Chamberlain by saying he would not be interested in the Czechs and then invading Czechoslovakia, as it was, for example, for Mr. Baldwin to disarm the electorate by keeping from them during an election the fact that he intended to rearm because, as he afterwards admitted, public opinion would have turned against his party.

# NATIONS MUST "GET TOGETHER" FOR PEACE—NOT LINE UP FOR WAR

### National Service

## Dissent in Labour Movement

ALTHOUGH the national organizations of the labour, cooperative, and trade union movements have declared in favour of taking part in the Government's National Service scheme, opposition within the movements is growing.

Ninety-four trades unions, trades councils, and labour parties, and twelve cooperative societies, have expressed their disagreement with the official view.

Forty more labour parties have registered their disapproval in resolutions on the agenda for the party's annual conference at Whitsun.

The strength of feeling among Women's Cooperative Guilds may be gauged from the fact that 170 of them have affiliated to the No Conscription League.

Glasgow Trades Council will, it is reported, bring the subject before the Scottish Trades Union Congress, by means of a resolution asking the Scottish trade union movement to oppose the National Service scheme.

An amendment to the same effect has been put down by the Southampton Cooperative Society for discussion at the Cooperative Party's annual conference at Easter.

### No-Conscription Conference in Leeds

Arrangements are now completed for a Yorkshire conference of the No Conscription League, to be held from 3 to 5.30 p.m. on Saturday, April 22, in the Trades Hall, Upper Fountaine Street, Leeds.

Organizations can send three delegates, tickets 6d. each, or 1s. for three, being obtainable from Miss W. M. Evans, 37 Newstead Place, Halifax, and individual visitors tickets are available at 6d. each from Denis Riley, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

## Plea to Premier by Deputation With Peace Petition

SPECIAL reference to the events of the previous week was made in a statement to the Prime Minister by the deputation which laid before him on Monday the National Petition for a new Peace Conference. (A London rally in support of the Petition is reported on page 7).

"It is in the highest degree essential in our view," said the statement, "that this 'getting together' of like-minded nations" [a reference to consultations between Britain and other Powers] "should not be in the spirit of counter-defiance or counter-preparation for war, and above all, that it should not be organized on the basis of any assumption that war is inevitable."

"We therefore most earnestly plead that the Prime Minister and the Government will use their fullest influence to ensure that any declarations severally or jointly made by ourselves and those we may consult should include an explicit offer to examine here and now with all concerned the possibility of finding the basis of a just peace for every nation, and an undertaking to make such contributions or sacrifices as are necessary to achieve this end."

### A Way Out

Following are other points from the statement made to the Premier by the spokesmen for more than a million people: "We believe that the great majority of our fellow-countrymen are earnestly looking for some constructive action—particularly upon the part of the democratic statesmen of the world—which will not only reflect the revulsion against war made manifest by the common peoples everywhere, but will remove the fear of violence without, at the same time, entailing the humiliation of mere surrender."

The petitioners and this deputation are earnestly confident that there is a constructive way out of this dilemma and that is an initiative by one or more of the democracies, inviting all nations to a new and equal cooperation on the basis of the fundamental and common needs of the ordinary peoples in all countries. The essential requirements of such a policy are that there should be stated clearly and fearlessly not only the principles by which in our view, the validity for peace of any solution of outstanding problems must be tested, but also the precise contributions we are prepared to make on our own account to the establishment of a new era of international cooperation and good will.

### Immediate Aim

"We believe that the immediate aim should be the realization of a new measure of positive economic cooperation open to all nations and that the machinery of consultation should be devised so as to provide not so much a single international economic conference, as an economic assembly of the nations capable of stimulating and supervising economic arrangements which must manifestly deal not with static, but with continually changing conditions and problems."

"We agree that no international conference can succeed where good will and confidence are absent, but, at the same time, we are compelled to ask whether such conditions can be created while unrestrained armaments competition continues. We recognize, too, that armaments merely reflect the fears and tensions which they accentuate and prolong. We submit, however, that circumstances are rapidly becoming favourable for launching a flanking movement which, in attacking economic insecurity, might undercut the political tensions and pave the way for a new agreement for the limitation and reduction of arms."

### Premier's Statement

Mr. Chamberlain said he agreed generally with the deputation's aims and would watch for any opportunity of following up the line of approach they suggested.

The deputation was led by Dr. Henry Wilson, Bishop of Chelmsford; other members were:

Archbishop of Cardiff (Dr. Francis Mostyn); Chief Rabbi (Dr. Hertz); Dr. Hutchison Cockburn (Convenor of the "Church and Nation" Committee of the Church of Scotland); Rev. Leslie Weatherhead; Rev. Henry Carter, CBE (Secretary of the Social Welfare Department of the Methodist Church); Mr. Wilfrid Littleboy (Clerk of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends); Canon Stuart Morris (Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union); Sir Harold Bellman; Mr. H. H. Elvin (Vice-President of the Trades Union Congress, General Council); Sir Daniel Hall, FRS; Dame Elizabeth Cadbury; Mr. George Lansbury, MP (President of the Peace Pledge Union); Miss E. M. Tanner (Headmistress of Roedean School, Brighton); Mr. Lincoln Ralphs (Honorary President of the International Confederation of Students); Professor C. E. M. Joad; Mr. Ernest Raymond; Miss Gwen Ffrangcon Davies; the Mayor of Fulham (Councillor P. E. Coleman); Mr. Graham White MP; Mr. C. Roden Buxton; Miss M. Jackson (President: The Civil Service Clerical Association); Mr. T. Edmund Harvey, MP; Alderman Harrison Barrow; Mr. John Barclay; Mr. G. L. Perkins (representing the Co-operative Union); Mr. T. N. Veitch (representing the Birmingham Petition Committee); Mr. Idwal Rees (representing the Aberdare Petition Committee); Mr. Gerald Bailey (Directing Secretary of the National Peace Council).

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ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO  
DELIVER "PEACE NEWS"  
EVERY WEEK

Speaking at Merton Broughton, Canon Morris said that what had happened in Central Europe was justification of claims presented have been unkind. Because our only reaction to each crisis was expansion, Hitler had had some justification for believing there was no other method than method of violence.

STOP PRESS